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INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KINGSTON 8000

QUARRY HEIGHTS FOR INTAFF

USCINCLANT FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/28/86 (HAVERKAMP R) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, JM
SUBJECT: OVERVIEW OF THE 1980 ELECTIONS

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. JAMAICAN WILL GO TO THE POLLS OCTOBER 30 FOR THE NINTH TIME SINCE 1944 TO DECIDE WHETHER INCUMBENT PRIME MINISTR MANLEY WINS A THIRD TERM FOR THIS "DEMOCRACTIC SOCIALISM" PROGRAM OR WHETHER OPPOSITION LEADER EDWARD SEAGA SHOULD BE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO LEAD THE COUNTRY OUT OF ITS ECONOMIC WILDERNESS. THE COUNTRY'S RELIEVED THAT THE ELECTION WILL SOON BE OVER, YET TENSION IS HIGH AND FINAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY IS INTENSE. WHILE OUTSIDER SEE THE ELECTION IN TERMS OF THE COMPETING IDEOLOGIES OF THE TWO PARTIES, THE JAMAICAN ELECTORATE VIEWS IT MORE IN TERMS OF BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES AND PERSONALITIES . THE RULING PNP HAS PLAYED UP ITS RECORD OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AGAINST INIMICAL EXTERNAL FORCES, BRANDED THE OPPOSITION AS ELITIST AND FASCIST AND HAS TRIED TO PIN THE BLAME FOR ESCALATINGVIOLENCE ON THE OPPOSITION AND THE SECURITY FORCES. THE OPPOSITION JLP HAS BLASTED THE RECORD OF THE PNP, CHARGED THAT MANLEY IS LEADING THE COUNTRY TO COMMUNISM, DEFENDED THE SECURITY FORCES AND PROISED TO SOLVE THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY. VIOLENCE HAS REACHED NEW LEVELS IN THIS ELECTION, FOR WHICH BOTH PARTIES SHARE RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE PNP INITIATING MORE BUT THE JLP WILLING TO HIT BACK HARD. LAST MINUTE VIOLENCE WILL HURT THE JLP, WHICH NEEDS THE MAXIMUM TURNOUT. BOGUS VOTING AND OTHER HIJINKS ARE LIKELY BUT WE CANNOT PREDICT HOW WIDE SPREAD VIOLENCE OR MANIPULATION WILL BE. THE SECURITY FORCES WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO KEEP THE POLLS SAFE AND FAIR. BUT THEY COULD WELL BE STRAINED BEYOND THEIR LIMITS. BOTH PARTIES ARE STILL CONFIDENT OF WINNING. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THE JLP WILL WIN A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION BY ABOUT 36. BUT IT COULD BE A LANDSLIDE FOR THE OPPOSITON, AND WE DO NOT RULE OUT A PNP WIN BY A SLIM MARGIN. END SUMMARY.

3. INTRODUCTION. JAMAICA GO TO THE POLLS ON OCTOBER 30 FOR THE NONTH TIME SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFERAGE IN 1944 ALMOST ONE MILLION JAMAICAN ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE. SIXTY SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARE AT STAKE. PRIMIN MICHAEL MANLEY IS SEEKING AN UNPRECEDENTED THIRD TERM TO CONTINUE THE PROGRESSIVE "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST" PROGRAMS OF HIS PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY (PNP) THE OPPOSITION JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY (JLP LED BY EDWARD SEAGA, HOLDS OUT THE PROMISE OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND MUCH IMPROVED MANAGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE ELECTIONS CAMAPAIGN BEGAN ALMOST IMMEDIATLY AFTER MANLEY ANNOUNCED IN FEBRUARY HIS INTENTIONS TO HOLD ELECTIONS AS SOON AS THE VOTER LISTS WERE READY IN ORDER TO SEEK POPULAR ENDORSEMENT OF HIS CONTROVERSIAL DECISION TO BREAK OFF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF. AFTER NINE MONTHS OF INTENSE POLITICS, JAMAICANS ARE READY TO GET THE ELECTION OVER. THE COUNTRY IS COVERED WITH POLITICAL POSTERS AND GRAFITTI, AIR WAVES ARE CLOGGED WITH POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS, POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAS TAKEN HUNDREDS OF LIVES AND BOASTING POSTURING, ACCUSATIONS AND COUNTER ACCUSATIONS BY BOTH PARTIES HAVE REACHED A RESCENDO. TENSION IS VERY HIGH IN WHAT MANY JAMAICANS VIEW AS THE MOST CRUCIAL ELECTION IN THEIR COUNTRY 36 YEAR EXPERIENCE WITH PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

4. AS THE ACTUAL ELECTION DATE APPROACHES THERE HA BEEN NO LETUP IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TWO PARTIES. BOTH ARE CAMPAIGNING HEAVILY, ESPECIALLY IN THOSE CONSTITUENCIES WHICH ARE VIEWED AS MARGINAL. SEAGA AND OTHER JLP LEADERS ARE ORCHESTRATING A SERIES OF "BANDWAGON" RALLIES AROUND THE ISLAND IN WHICH SUBSTANTIVE SPEECHES ARE BRIEF AND MUSICAL ENTERAINMENT IN EMPJASIZED. THEY ARE DRAWING LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC CROWDS, INCLUDING THEY CLAIM, SIZEABLE NUMBERS OF THE YOUNG AND UNEMPLOYED. MANLEY AND HIS LIEUTENANTS ALS ARE DAILY ON THE HUSTINGS, BUT HE STILL GIVING LONG WINDED DEFENSE OF HIS TWO TERMS AND IS INCR[illegible]GLY VITRIOLIC IN HIS ATTACKS ON THE JLP (FASCISTS", "PPETS OF IMPERIALISM" AND "GOONS" ARE THE TERMS HE USED OCTOBER25) IN MANY CASES OUTSIDE OF THE CORPORATE AREA. THE PRIMIN IS NOT DRAWING AS GOOD A CROWD AS IS SEAGA.

5. THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THIS ELECTION HAVE BEEN THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE RECORD OF THE INCUMBENT GOVERNMENT. JAMAICA ARE CONCERNED OVER HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT (APPROACHING 40 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE) THE DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING GROWING INFLATION, SHORTAGES OF ESSENTIALS AND THE COUNTRY'S VIRTUAL BANKRUPTCY. MANY UNDERSTAND THAT EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FORCES HAVE WREAKED HAVOC ON THE JAMAICAN ECONOMY IN THE 70S BUT STILL BLAME THE PNP FOR NOT MANAGING THE SITUATION BETTER. OTHER REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PROGRESSIVE REFORMS OF THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT AND BELIEVE THAT JAMAICA MUST "STAND FIRM" IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHAT THE PNP VIEWS AS WESTERN ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM WHILE MATTERS OF WIDESPREAD CONCERN, CRIME VIOLENCE HAVE NOT BEEN AS IMPORTANT AS ISSUES IN THIS ELECTION. A HAVE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, DEFENDING SOCIALISM OR FIGHTING "COMMUNISM" ARE ISSUES OF EVEN LESS IMPORTANCE FOR MOST JAMAICANS. WHILE MANY OUTSIDE JAMAICA AND THE HEIRARCHIES OF THE TWO PARTIES SEE THE ELECTION AS A CONTEST BETWEEN COMPETING AND DISTINCT POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES, THE MAJORITY OF THE JAMAICAN ELECTORATE SEES THE CONTEST MORE IN TERMS OF PERSONALITIES AND "BREAD AND BUTTER "ISSUES.

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6. PNP CAMPAIGN THEMES. THE CAMPAIGN RHETORIC OF THE PNP INITIALLY CONCENTRATED ON CASTING ITSELF AS THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE IN OPPOSITION TO A PARTY OF ELITISTS. THE IMF, FOR EXAMPLE WAS PAINTED AS THE FINANCIAL AGENT OF THE ELITISTS ALLIES, IMPERIALISTS AND COLONIALISTS, WHO WERE UNSYMPATHETIC TO THE MASSES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE THEME THAT THE OPPOSITION JLP WOULD BRING BACK THE IMF AND SELL THE COUNTRY'S SOUL FOR ASSISTANCE FROM WESTERN POWERS HAS CONTINUED AS A LEIT MOTIF THROUGH THE PNP'S CAMPAIGN. THE MAJOR PNP CAMPAIGN SONG "MY LEADER BORN "YA" AN OBVIOUS SLUR ON SEAGA BIRTH IN THE US. IMPLIES THAT SEAGA IS NOT TO BE TRUSTEDWITH THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY OR THE WELLBEING OF ITS PEOPLE. FOLLOWING THE JLP'S STRIDENT ATTACKS ON PNP MISMANAGEMENT, THE PNP INTRODUCTED A SERIES OF TV AND NEWSPAPER ADS LISITNG THE PARTYS ACHIEVEMENT DURING THE PAST EIGHT YEARS. MORE HOUSING UNITS, A HIGH IMITIMUM WAGE, MUCH GREATER ADULT LITERACY, AND AN INCREASING BAUXITE LEVY HAVE BEEN LISTED AS EVIDENCE THAT THE PNP HAS NOT MISMANAGED AT ALL, AHD IN VIEW OF THE DECLINE IN THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC WELLBEING HAS DONE QUITE WELL. THE PNP MANIFESTO CLAIMS THAT THE PROGRESS MADE WILL SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A THIRD TERM THAT WILL CONTINUE AND BUILD ON THE COMMITMENT TO SOCIALISM. ONE OF THE SNAPPIER PNP THEME SONGS URGES TO POPULACE TO "VOTE SOCIALISM IN THIS YA ELECTION", VOTE AGAINST REACTION"

7. WHILE CONTINUING THESE THESE OF SUPPORT FOR THE COMMON MAN AND MANAGERIAL COMPETENCE, THE MORE RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE PNP IN MID AUGUST BEGAN AB ATTACK ON THE SECURITY FORCES BY SUGGESTING THAT THEY WERE AGENTS OF THE JLP. AT THE SAME TIME, SOME PRO PNP PROGPAANDISTS RESURRECTED EARLIER CHARGES THAT THERE WAS A PLAN TO DESTABILIZE JAMAICA AHD MOUNT A COUP, ON THE MODEL OF CHILE. IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS OF THE CAMPAIGN, THE JLP HAS BEEN DEPICTED "FASCISTS" BENT ON SHOOTING ITS WAY TO VICTORY. TILTED REPORTING BY THE JBC CASTS MOST OF THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE AS PNP SUPPORTERS CUT DOWN BY JLP THUGS. THE TRAGIC SHOOTING OF PNP CANDIDATE ROY MCGANN ON NOMINATION DAY HAS GIVEN THE PNP THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEPICT THE JLP AS A PARTY PREPARED TO SHOOT ITS WAY TO VICTORY. OTHER INCIDENTS SUCH AS THE DISRUPTED MANLEY RALLY AT SPANISH TOWN ON OCTOBER 25 AND THE KILLING OF TWO YOUNG BOYS IN A FIGHT BETWEEN THE JLP CANDIDATE AND PNP SUPPORTES IN ST ELIZABETH HAVE BEEN USED AS EXAMPLES OF THE JLP'S ALLEGEDLY RUTHLESS ATTEMPT TO SEIZE POWER. IN THE LAST WEEK THE ISSUE OF VIOLENCE AND WHO CAUSES IT HA DOMINATED THE PNP'S CAMPAIGN RHETORIC THIS PROBABLY IS A PLUS FOR THE PNP, AS IT DIRECTS ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE PNP'S WEAK SPOT AND DISTRACTS ATTENTION AND SUSPICION FROM VIOLENCE WHICH THE PNP INITIATES.

8. JLP CAMPAIGN THEMES. THE JLP FROM THE START HAS CAMPAIGNED AS THE PARTY BEST ABLE TO SAVE JAMAICA FROM BANKRUPTCY. IN 5- MINUTE TV ADS, AND MORE RECENTLY IN 15 MINUTE RADIO AND TV SPEECHES, JLP CANDIDAES HAVE HAMMERED AWAY AT THE SUCCESSIVE YEARS OF NEGATIVE GROWTH IN THE ECONOMY UNDER THE PNP AND HAVE CITED JLP ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE 1960S EDWARD SEAGA'S REPUTATION AS THE MAN WHO CAN PUT JAMAICA BACK ON ITS ECONOMIC FEET HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED. FOLLOWING PNP ATTACKS ON THE INTEGRITY OF THE SECURITY FORCES, THE JLP HAS CAST ITSELF AS THE DEFENDER OF THE POLICE AND MILITARY IN AN ATTEMPT TO PLAY ON THE DESIRE OF THE JAMAICAN ELECTORATE FOR AN END TO VIOLENCE. MOREOVER THE JLP HAS POINTED TO THE NUMBER OF LEFTISTS IN THE PNPAND PARTY CUBAN AND SOVIET LINKS AS PROOF OF THE COMMUNIST LEANINGS OF THE PNP, A THEME THAT TRADITION ALLY PLAYS WELL AMONG THE UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES, RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTATLISTS AND FARMERS. THE DEFENSE OF THE SECURITY FORCES AGAINST WHAT IS TERMED UNPRINCIPLED ATTACKS HAS BEEN TIED INTO JLP CLAIMS THAT IT IS THE PARTY THAT SUPPORTS THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF JAMAICA. THE JLP HAS OF LATE ACCUSED THE PNP OF PLANNING VIOLENCE TO FORCE THE POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTION, ELECTION THE PNP CANNOT WIN, ACCORDING TO THE JLP.

9. POLITICAL VILLENCE HAS MARRED THIS ELECTION MORE THAN ANY PREVIOUS ONE. VIOLENCE, OF COURSE IS NOT NEW IN JAMAICAN POLITICS BUT IT HAS COME A LONG WAY SINCE THE DAYS OF STONE AND BOTTLE THROWING. MORE THAN 400 JAMAICAN HAVEBEEN KILLED BY GUNS AND KNIVES THIS YEAR. MANY FOR POLITICAL REASONS. BOTH PARTIES HAVE SUBSTANTIAL ARSENALS, INCLUDING POWERFUL AUTOMATIC RIFLES, AND SEEN TO HAVE PAID GOONS TO KILL FOR THEM. PLANES FROM THE US COMING TO PICK UP MARIJUAN ARE BELIEVED TO BRING IN WEAPONS, PROBABLY FOR BOTH PARTIES, AND THE PNP HAS A SUPPLY OF M-16S WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE COME FROM CUBA. WHILE THE PNP APPEARS TO HAVE INITIATED THE GREATER SHARE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE DURING THE SUMMER, IN RECENT WEEKS VIOLENCE FROM THE JLP SIDE HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY. GROWING VIOLENCE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF THE CAMPAIGN WAS INEVITABLE AS IT HAS BECOME AN INTEGRAL WAY FOR A CANDIDATE AND HIS PARTY TO SHOW THAT THEY WILL WIN. IN THE MANY AREAS WHERE TRIBAL POLITICAS STILL PREVIALS IN JAMAICA, THE POLITICAN GAINS AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE IF HE DRAWS LARGER CROWDS PUTS UP MORE POSTERS AND PAINTS MORE GRAFITTI THAN HIS OPPONENT. SIMILARLY, FOR SOME HE DEMONSTRATES HIS STRENGTH AND LOOKS LIKE A WINNER IF HE INTIMIDATES HIS OPPOSITION AND DEFENDS SUPPORTERS BY ACTS OF VIOLENCE. THESE FACTORS ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN MANY OF THE MARGINAL CONSTITUENCIES WHERE THE ELECTION IS BEING HOTLY CONTESTED. ONE LOCAL COMMENTAROR SAID HE PREDICTS THAT IN THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTION, THE POLITICANS WI LMOVE UP TO GRENADES AND BAZOOKAS.

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